1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

village, must remain in it and belongs to the younger brother (1) who becomes the master of the kraal. The second goes to the second brother, the third to the third, the fourth to the *ntukulu*, viz. to the son of the sister of the deceased. The fifth will then become the wife of one of the sons of the deceased. This may appear shocking, and is really shocking even to the ideas of the Natives ; but let it be remembered that she is the youngest of all ; she was taken when the father was already old, and the first son is perhaps older than she. As regards the elder wives, the first and second especially, no one would think of keeping them for the son ! Incestuous relations are very rare amongst the Ba-Ronga. Even in this case, the feelings of both parties are more or less respected. The men advise the son to begin to play with the young widow, to ask her jocularly for tobacco, and he gradually accustoms himself to consider her no longer as a mother (mamana) but as a wife (nsati).

Of course the general rule is apt to be very much altered according to circumstances. Should the deceased be the youngest of the family, his elder brother may inherit the first wife. But this is not the regular procedure.

The distribution having thus been decided on, the sisters of the deceased call the widows and say to them : "You so and so, you shall give food to so and so (phamela manyana)." But then the struggle begins. One of the widows, being old, may altogether refuse to have anything to do with any of her brothers-in-law. She may say : "I am taking my young son as a husband" which means : I do not want to be the wife of anybody. Or she will say : "I choose the big tree of the village where my late husband has built his hut." This answer may mean two things. Either : I do not leave this kraal and I will stay here without a husband ; or, on the contrary : I consent to be the wife of the man who becomes the headman of the village, viz. the eldest of the younger brothers. Another will say : "I love my *ntukulu* so and so." Should, however, the first wife desire to go to a man who does not

(1) Amongst the Ba-Ronga, an elder brother of the deceased cannot inherit a widow. It is taboo. He is a father to her, not a husband. He sometimes takes the lead in the discussion, having no personal interest in the matter. (See Part II).

604 that I intend to treat it more fully later on in a special paragraph, when considering the traces of older forms of family life amongst the Thongas.

601 The true malume is the mother's full brother. But all her half brothers are also bamalume in the second degree; so are also the brothers of the true malume.

605 What about the *children of the malume*, my cousins, or rather my 835 cross-cousins, sons and daughters of my mother's brothers, viz. 582 Shaputa and Marangen as opposed to Madonge and Misaben? In Zulu, Sutho, Pedi there is a special term to indicate this relation, (mzala, motsoala, mudzwala, muzwala). And the main feature of the family system in those tribes is that a cousin has a prior right to marry the daughter of his maternal uncle, his mzala. Amongst the Thongas there is nothing of the kind. The special term does not exist except in the Maputju clan, at the Southern extremity of Thonga territory, where it is met with in the form of *ntale* (corresponding to mzala, according to the law of phonetic permutation) (1) or *shitale* (when preceded by the prefix shi).

605 But the right of marrying this cousin is not recognized in the 835 Thonga tribe. One can play with her, steal some object from 582 her in fun, but never take her as a wife. Such a breach of the custom would be punished by the chief. Later on, when the 602 special relation of cross-cousins has been more or less forgotten, marriage could take place between them, but, at any rate, the ceremony of dlaya shilongo (see p. 256) would be performed, in order to "kill" the previous relationship and to replace it by the new relation of husband and wife.

This being so, how do cross-cousins behave towards each other in the Thonga system? As regards the daughter of their maternal uncle, the relationship is somewhat different for Misaben, a boy, and for Madonge, a girl. To Misaben the boy, Shaputa, his cousin, is mamana and she will call him son, ñwana, because, as we have seen, Shaputa is a potential wife for Mboza, father of Misaben, and Mboza calls her nkata, nsati, namu. To Madonge,

605 (1) They also employ the cognate form *muzali*, which is more akin to the Zulu regular term, and this tends to show that the Maputjus have borrowed this expression from their Zulu neighbours of Northern Amatongaland.

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606 431 376 of its meat with all his relatives-in-law. Then both will be allowed to eat together. Until that present was made, it would have been impossible. In this clan, a future son-in-law does not eat at all with his bakoñwana until the marriage is concluded, and this rule is sometimes observed till he has given "the ox for communicating together." Amongst the Zulus it is said that a mother-in-law will never eat with her daughter's husband. In the Khosa clan the custom of lessening the avoidance taboo by offering a present to the mother-in-law also exists. The son-in-law will one day bring a plate of food to her with his gift put on top of it. She will accept it and eat together with him. Then it will be possible for these two persons to "djungulisana" i. e. to tell each other the news of the day when visiting each other's village. But when this monotonous recital is finished and concluded, as is customary, by clapping both hands, this must be done with care, and not in a hurried fashion, as when speaking to an ordinary person, but slowly and respectfully.

115 606 835 What is the reason of this extraordinary conduct of the son-in-law towards his wife's mother ? The Khosa Native who gave me this last information said : "A wise man will carefully observe the bukoñwana rules, because, if he hurts his parents-in-law by infringing them, they will not give him his tinamu as wives." This is true, but the same may be said of all the taboos of the bukoñwana, and the mother-in-law is not the principal person to be consulted on the question. Another more profound reason was once alluded to by an old Thonga, of Spelonken, Abraham Mabanyisi, who said to me : "I fear my mother-in-law because I shall never marry her : Such a thing has never been seen." This statement has been confirmed since by information gathered in the Maputju clan. Notice the almost reflex action of the mother-in-law in covering her breasts when she sees her son-in-law coming unexpectedly. It shows that there is a sexual element in the behaviour of the woman and also in that of the man, who hides his face in order not to see her in her half nakedness. Dr. Rivers, who has met exactly the same rites of avoidance amongst the Melanesians, supposes that they are dictated by a more or less unconscious desire on the part of both these persons to fight against the temptation to have sexual relations with each other. Bantus also, in the course of the evolution of the family, have come to the deep conviction that such intercourse is bad and must

606 be banished from their thoughts. They obey that conviction when
835 practising the avoidance rites.

The wife of the brother-in-law, the Great Mukoñwana.

607 This particular respect is even more marked in the relations of a man with the wife of his wife's brother. Indeed the avoidance is pushed further than with the mother-in-law. A Native of the Ndjao tribe (which has the same customs as the Thonga tribe in this respect) described to me vividly the extraordinary marks of fear that these two persons show each other when they meet on the road. The story will be told when speaking of the Ba-Ndjao. Here are some other marks of this extraordinary respect.

607 The wife's brother's wife must always keep her breasts covered
834 in the village of her husband's sister's husband. Only when she has had a child is she permitted to "open her clothing;" but then she must fix a leaf in her hair (as if to show that she does not forget the special reserve which she is bound to maintain). (Khosen region.)

607 When a man travels with his great mukoñwana and they have to
836 cross a river, they will avoid entering the same boat. It may
827 happen to anyone to emit an unseemly sound from the rectum; but if the great mukoñwana is present, she looks on this as a grave offence. A fine must be paid to her, a hoe, for instance. If the guilty man has nothing to give her, he at once breaks a twig from a tree and presents it to her as a token that the proper fine will be forthcoming in due time! He must never use words of insult in her presence, even if he addresses them to another person. If he loses his temper before her she will go to the old people of
607 her husband's village and tell them: "He has insulted me." On
844 the other hand the great mukoñwana is bound to go and assist the wife of this man when she gives birth to a child. At least this is the rule in the Khosa clan and also in Maputju. The two women live on very good terms with each other; they are
607 *tinhombe*. The man himself, when he visits his relatives-in-law, has the right of sleeping in the hut of the great mukoñwana. We have seen that, during the first months after his marriage, he is received in the hut of his mother-in-law. Why is this? Because the oxen

607 of the lobolo are still in the hands of the father-in-law. But later on these oxen are used to provide a wife for one of the sons, and the woman thus obtained is the great mukoñwana; therefore her hut belongs in a certain sense to the man with whose oxen she was bought. When he arrives, he may first be "shown" (komba) the mother-in-law's hut and rest there for a while, but at once the hut of the great mukoñwana will be prepared and he will move into it for the night; of course the mistress of the house has gone elsewhere, and it is the tinamu who will sleep in her hut to keep him company. (However should the visitor have not yet paid the lobolo, he will not be received in this hut. It may happen that his bakoñwana will say to him: "Where is your hut? Sleep outside!")

607 835 582 Why do the relations of a man with the wife of his brother-in-law resemble so greatly his relations with his wife's mother? Let us remember that this man is the potential husband of the daughter of the first, just as he is the actual husband of the daughter of the second. It is probable that the great principle that "a man must not marry a woman and her mother" dictates this extraordinary fear and avoidance in both cases. But, in the case of the wife of the brother-in-law, there is still another element: "The oxen!" This woman has been acquired by the oxen paid by the man to obtain his wife, and this explains the uneasiness which characterises their relation.

This second reason is perhaps more readily recognised by the Thongas than the first; they sometimes tell you that it is the only reason. But I think they are wrong, and that the same deep feeling that to marry a woman and her mother is incestuous is certainly at the base of these taboos. I may mention two facts in proof of this:

a) Once when I asked a woman of the Maputju country if her husband would be allowed to marry the wife of his brother-in-law, she seemed extremely shocked by the idea and exclaimed: "What are you thinking of? Marry his mother!" To her it would be incest, as much so as if the man had sexual relations with his own mother.

b) The wife of the brother-in-law is not the only great mukoñwana. The wives of his brothers, and of his sons and grandsons are all classed under that term. Why is this? Because a man has a prior right to marry not only the daughter of this special woman but all the daughters of his bakoñwana, and all these women, who are their mothers, are conse-

607 quently his potential mothers. He avoids them all, not on account
835 of the lobolo oxen, which he did not actually pay for their daughters,
582 but because it is intolerable to think that he might have relations with a woman and her mother.

607 But no doubt the fact that oxen have been paid by the man,
586 oxen by means of which his great mukoñwana was bought, is
835 the principal cause of the fear which they both feel towards each other. These oxen have created a sort of interdependence between them. Mboza says: "Should my home be disturbed by quarrels, should my wife Nsabula leave me and run away to her parents, or should she die without children, I shall go and claim my oxen... But the oxen have been employed to buy a wife for my brother-in-law, (Maphunga for Mahangale). If Gogwe has no other means at his disposal he must separate the pair Maphunga-Mahangale, cancel their marriage, send Maphunga home and claim the money from her parents. Or I might myself take Maphunga as my wife, and in either of these cases the marriage Maphunga-Mahangale would be annulled."

Thus it may happen that Mboza may marry his great mukoñwana, though such a union is really incestuous, according to the deep moral feeling of the tribe. This is truly terrible!

587 But does this ever really happen? I have put this question to
607 many Thongas, in the various clans of the tribe, and remarked that there are differences amongst them.

Amongst the Nkunas of Shiluvane it is an absolute impossibility. Another woman is offered to meet the claim of the son-in-law who has lost his wife. This is called: "Ku hingakanya ntjandja", i. e. "to put a log across the road." The woman offered may be a little girl, still at the breast of her mother, or even a little boy. This is your wife, his parents will say to the son-in-law, and he must be content to know that, as this male baby will no doubt have a sister in the course of the two following years, the girl to be born will replace his wife. "Ntjandja a ba tluli" i. e. "One does not jump over the log." The man will not persist in his claim, and will not insist on taking the great mukonwana to replace his wife.

Amongst the Khosas and Bilas, such a marriage can take place

587 to find another woman. Maphunga may perhaps have a daughter
607 who will do. Or Mbekwa may have a married son whose daughter can also be offered. If the great mukoñwana is only pregnant, the child about to be born is quite enough *ku hingakanya ntjandja*, to put a log across the road and an end to the claim. But the child will perhaps be a boy... not a girl. Never mind! Mboza will wait patiently for a girl ; Shaputa will be born ; he will wait again until she is of age, then he will marry her and she will *pfusha yindlu ya rarana*, viz. raise up the house of her aunt Nsabula (1). Naturally if matters take this course, Gogwe will have to pay the lobola of the girl who has taken the place of the deceased. Nowadays it is not very difficult : he will work, or send one of his sons to work, for the money.

c) The tinamu.

607 When a man goes bukoñwanen, his heart is full of mixed feelings. He trembles lest he may meet the two terrible bakoñwana whom he wishes to avoid ; but, on the other hand, he is greatly rejoiced at the idea that his *tinamu* will welcome him with hearty laughter and jokes and make much of him. Who are these tinamu ? They belong to three categories, which correspond to three kinds of *bulamu*. First of all *the younger sisters of the wife*.
607 *Namu*, plur. *tinamu*, in Ronga, *balamo* in Djonga, comes from the
835 archaic verb *yulama*, which means to *follow*, to come after. My tinamu are those who follow my wife, who have been born after her, her younger sisters in particular. They are my *presumptive wives*, therefore I can play with them with the greatest freedom ; I eat together with them from the same plate. They go so far as to smear my face with ashes (tota hi nkuma) and afterwards wash it with water. I have the right to pat their shoulders gently, to snatch something from their hands, to force them to give me something to eat ; and, if they refuse, I will say to them : "How dare you stint me, you, my wives!" They go

(1) One more fact. If Mahangala has taken another wife besides Maphunga, his daughter born of this second wife cannot be used to meet the claim of the widower.

607 so far as to sleep in the hut of my great mukonwana together with
~~833~~ me (p. 242). Nevertheless sexual relations are not allowed.
595 Should a man commit this sin, and should his sister-in-law
582 become pregnant, he will have to pay a fine, or rather he will go to his father-in-law and say : (Viguet) "Ndi dlele ku dya"-"I have killed in order to eat" which means : I have committed a bad action but with the intention of repairing my wrong by marrying the girl. He brings five hoes when he makes the announcement and will remit the remainder of the lobolo later on. A younger sister when married to the same husband as the elder, is called *nhlampsa* of the latter. This term comes probably from hlampsa, to wash, because she washes the dishes of her sister and works more or less as her servant.

607 The right of marrying one's wife's sisters is by no means an
582 obligation. I am not in any way forced to do so, if I do not like
595 them. Most probably, even if I wished to marry them all, I should not have enough oxen to "lobola" them all. On the other hand, the bakonwana are not obliged to give them to me. If I am not a good husband to my wife, if she complains that I illtreat her, her parents will not consent to receive my oxen for her sisters. Should my tinamu marry other men, of course the peculiar bulamu relations will cease. I can no longer allow myself the intimacy I previously had with them. But if they have children by these men, they will call me tatana and I shall call them bana, because I might have been their father, having a prior right of marrying their mothers.

607 My wife's elder sisters are not tinamu to me ; they are
582 bakonwana. Why so ? Because when I married my wife, her elder sisters were already married, according to the law that an elder sister must always marry before the younger. A father would never consent to give away the younger before the elder. Therefore I have never had the opportunity of playing with my wife's elder sisters and considering them as possible wives.

607 By extension the term namu is also applied to my wife's
595 younger brothers. They are bakonwana, in fact (p. 238). Their daughters are my potential wives. However, the relations I have with them are easier than with the elder brothers and

607 with the father of my wife, as these are her natural protectors.
835 In this first category is included the daughter of my wife's
595 brother (Shaputa versus Mboza). With her the relations are perhaps even more free than with my wife's younger sisters. I call her *nsati*. The intimacy is so great that I can hold her breasts (tamele mabele). I can do so even in the presence of my wife, who is her paternal aunt. She will be pleased to see that I am disposed to avail myself of my right to marry her, because her niece will thus become her nhlampsa, she will hlampsela rarana, i. e. become a second wife by the side of her father's sister. But I dare not take such a liberty with the girl if her father is on the spot and sees me. I probably do not possess the oxen to pay for her, and the father looks chiefly to the oxen.

As already pointed out, all the girls belonging to my bakoñwana are in the same position towards me. I can marry them all... if I am rich enough to "lobola" them. The grand-daughter of my wife's brother is a namu, a nsati. She will probably be a baby whilst I am a grown-up man. Never mind! If I meet her, a little girl on her mother's back, I go and take her in my arms, and
602 say to her : "Good morning, my wife!" As regards my wife's
607 cousins, those whose father is a brother of my wife's father and
835 who bear the same family name as my wife, they are also tinamu,
595 but here a distinction must be made. Should the father of one of these girls be younger than my wife's father, I can marry her ; but should he be older I must not do so. Why is this? Because the girl, belonging to an elder branch of my wife's family, takes precedence of my wife ; she is her "hosi", her chief. On the other hand my wife, being my first wife, is the mistress of the house ; this cousin of hers ought therefore to obey her. But she is her chief! That would not be right. The natural family relations would be disturbed.. Such a union is not taboo (a psi yili) but it must be avoided.

835 The *second category of tinamu* includes those women whom I
595 might marry, not on account of the prior right of a group to the
607 women of another group, but because I might *inherit them*. They are the wives of my elder brothers. If their husbands die, I am their legal heir. Relations with them are easy. We joke together, but there is more reserve towards these tinamu than towards those

835 of the first category. Sexual intercourse with them is a great taboo,
595 and a man daring to commit such a sin would be likened to a
607 wizard: he has killed his brother. This is the sin called matlulana (App. VI). My younger brother's wives are not tinamu ; we call each other ñwingi. I do not inherit them except in extraordinary cases when the deceased has no brother younger than himself.

602 There is still a *third kind of bulamu*. I also call tinamu the
835 cousins of my wife who are the daughters of my wife's mother's
582 sisters. These girls do not belong to my wife's clan ; they bear the family name of their father. Therefore I have no right to inherit them : "A hi delani ndjaka," i. e. "we do not inherit from each other." The relations with these tinamu are agreeable, but there is no hope of marriage between us.

2) Relations on the Husband's side.

607 So far we have considered the relation of Mboza with his wife's family. But what about Nsabula and her position towards her husband's relatives ? Nsabula calls Masuluke and Nsengamuñwe *ñwingi*, and the term is reciprocal. It implies great respect. As we saw, the young bride must work a whole year for her mother-in-law. The same respect is shown by Nsabula to Djan, Sam, Fos, her husband's elder brothers. They are also *ñwingi* to each other. "Should I send her to call Djan," says Mboza, "she will kneel down before him and say : 'My father! Mboza calls you!' or : 'Ñwamasuluke (Masuluke's son), you are wanted with us." She will not dare to address him by name. This extraordinary respect is reciprocal. Djan will consider Nsabula as his inferior, but he will never play with her. On the other hand, Komatane, Mboza's younger brother, is only a *namu* to Nsabula. Both will joke together and even occasionally smear each other with ashes. So will Sam, Fos, Mboza and Komatane with Mihlakaza, the wife of their elder brother. Thus we note
607 this law : a woman will generally respect the elder brothers of her
835 husband (benga), and hold very free intercourse with his younger
595 brothers (tinamu), and vice-versa. A man will keep away from

607 his younger brother's wives (bengi) and play with those of his elder
835 brothers (tinamu). Why tis here this difference ? Because, as
595 we saw, the wife of an elder brother is a possible wife for all
582 his younger brothers, as they have the right of inheriting her, should this man die. On the contrary, an elder brother inherits his younger brother's wife only under quite exceptional circumstances. One does not marry a ñwingi! This would be an insult to one's wife. Nsabula would leave Mboza if Mboza were to marry Magugu, Komatane's wife, because they have been accustomed to call each other ñwingi.

607 To a wife, her husband's elder sister is also a ñwingi (Ndjibari to Nsabula). The husband's younger sister is a namu or *nhombe*, and two tinhombe have very free relations, just as in the case of the tinamu. This freedom exists between female tinamu as well as between tinamu of different sexes.

606 There is a final term to be mentioned : *bakhoti* or *bakhoti-kulobye*, in Ronga, *basevele* in Djonga, a reciprocal term by which the parents of a husband and wife call each other.

593 How far is a woman incorporated in her husband's family ?
769 She belongs to it till her death, provided the lobolo oxen have been paid, but she does not accept the ancestor-gods of her parents-in-law as being her gods. She keeps her own gods, and prayers are frequently addressed to them by her father or by her brothers in favour of her children. In this respect Thongas differ widely from the old Aryan peoples, where a woman had to adopt the religion of her husband's clan when she married.

* * *

606 Before leaving the subject of relations with parents-in-law, and in order to show to what extent the uneasiness and fear which characterises them are carried, I will briefly mention the taboos of the bukoñwana, which play such a great part in Bantu family life. Let me say that most of these taboos (psiyilayilana, small prohibitions), are not so severe as those connected with sexual relations, disease and death. It is not believed that a breach of

586 wives at once. The custom of marrying a wife's tinhlampsa is
582 approved of; it is however not very frequently observed in Thonga
607 families at the present time.

545 Other women to whom a man has a special right are his relatives on the mother's side, as we have seen; to take a wife from the family in which the father found the mother is recommended and approved of as long as she is not too near a relative.

2) The right of inheritance.

587 The second class of cases does not concern unmarried women
835 whom I mean to lobola, but widows whom I may inherit after
768 the death of their husband. Those whom I may eventually inherit
595 are generally called by me *namu* or *nsati*, and I have very free
582 relations with them, but as already pointed out this liberty never goes so far as to allow of sexual intercourse (p. 247). "Ndi nga da," viz. "I can eat, inherit by prior right" *my elder brother's widow*: she is my regular legacy. As regards my younger brother's widow, I can only marry her if she is old and no longer able to bear children. But if she is still a childbearing woman, to take her is very much against the feelings of the tribe. The reason of the prohibition is this, says Viguet: suppose that this widow of my younger brother already has children. I take her, and have a child by her. The child takes precedence of the first children of its mother: he is their *hosi*, because I, myself, the father, am the elder brother of the deceased. On the other hand, he is *ndjisana* of his other brothers, because he was born after them by the same mother. This is impossible; it runs counter to the most elementary notions of the family. In exceptional cases, however, when no one else can claim my younger brother's widow, I may take her.

587 Next to my true tinamu comes *the widow of my maternal uncle*.
768 If he had many, one might be alloted to me in the distribution.
595 But of course, in this as in all other cases of inherited women, the
582 children born of our union would belong to the family who paid the lobolo, and not to me. I have, in a sense, only the usufruct of the property. She will till the fields for me and serve me with

582 595 835 Though laying much stress on this very important difference we must notice, nevertheless, that there is a certain correspondence between the rights of men and women in this respect. A man has a preferential right to his wife's younger sisters, and to the daughters of his wife's brothers, be these men younger or older than his wife. He is a potential husband for all these tinamu. It results from this fact, that, as regards a woman, she is also a potential wife for all her husband's younger brothers, who can inherit her and are also called tinamu by her, and for the sons of her husband's sisters, be they older or younger than her husband.

601 582 Another feature of these early Australian forms of society is that all the persons belonging to a given generation call each other brothers (or sisters), and call the preceding generation fathers and mothers and the following generation sons indiscriminately. We may compare with this classificatory system the Thonga custom of calling all the father's wives and all the mother's sisters mothers; and all the father's brothers fathers. But this is not necessarily a trace of group marriage. As we have seen before, the meaning of kinship terms is very often extended to other people as a sign of respect or of love; the Thongas, nevertheless, know perfectly well the difference existing between the technical use of these terms and their wider connotation. There is something natural in these appellations. When we call such and such a person Father Morton, Mother Fuller, Brother James or Sister Agnes, no one would take this to be a relic of the group marriage phase! On this point my conclusion would therefore be: certain customs may be considered as traces of this old system, but it is not absolutely necessary to explain them by this hypothesis. The preference accorded to a wife's sisters, or nieces, may very well owe its origin to the following cause: when a group has ascertained that its women are well treated in another group, it welcomes new alliances with that group, thinking that, in this dreadful lottery of marriage, the guarantee given by a previous happy union is not to be despised!

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583 (See page 109). Every male member of the group has his say in
835 the matter.
593 2) Brothers will always be ready to help a poor relative to
618 lobola : they work for their group.

3) The acquired wife is their presumptive spouse, though they cannot have sexual relations with her (matlulana). They will inherit her if the husband dies, according to the laws which I have explained in the preceding paragraphs.

583 4) Children will belong to the father, live with him, bear his
593 shibongo (family name), and owe him obedience : boys will
611 strengthen this group, girls will be lobota (factitive of lobola—
618 sold in marriage) for his profit. Father-right rests on the lobola. This is so plain that any child born of a woman who has not been paid for belongs to the mother's family, bears her shibongo name and will live in the malume's village. In Appendix VII, I relate the story of Spoon Libombo as an instance of this primordial law. This is the reason why, when the question is discussed, men insist so much on the preservation of the lobola. They say : "Who will guarantee us the possession of our children if lobola is suppressed ?"

So the lobola is by no means a purchase made by the husband, and still less a present given to the wife's parents.

1) Advantages of the lobola custom.

583 In the primitive collective stage of society the custom has
593 certainly *great advantages* : 1) It strengthens the family, I mean
586 the patriarchal family, the right of the father. 2) It marks the difference between a legitimate and an illegitimate marriage and, in this sense, takes the place of an official marriage register. 3) It puts hindrances in the way of dissolving the matrimonial union, as a wife cannot definitely leave her husband without her group returning the lobola. Therefore it obliges the married pair to have a certain regard one for the other.

However, these advantages must not be exaggerated. Marriages

685 343 151 625 has been pulled up and the sand nicely smoothed down, so that any traces of a thief would easily be seen. He will possibly be recognised at once by the trackers, owing to some peculiarity in the marks on the sand, the foot-print of each individual being more or less known; clever detectives can even ascertain the height and gait of a man from the length of his stride! If there are no peculiar marks in the foot-prints, the trackers will follow them and reach the village where the thief lives. They will perhaps take him by surprise in his hut. If the matter cannot be settled by the headman of the village and has to be brought before the chief, the guilty party will be fined as much as two, three or even five pounds sterling (Tobane) (1).

When detectives have been unable to trace a thief, they assume a philosophical attitude and say: "Only wait. A man who has stolen will steal again, and you will catch him another time!"

643 687 *Revolt against the decisions of the chief's hubo* is very rare. Should any person take the part of a condemned man and encourage him to oppose the decision of the Court, he will be beaten with a shambock on the square of the capital. "U onhi hubo," "he has spoilt the Court!" Moreover he may have to pay a fine of £ 2. (Mankhelu.)

643 835 224 701 *Answer to some of Professor Frazer's questions on Government.* There are no separate chiefs for war and peace. But in time of war the great induna, who is the Commander-in-chief of the army, directs all military operations. — The chief is never required to marry his own sister or daughter. The only similar case of which I have heard, is that of a hunter who must have sexual relations with his daughter before going on a hunting trip (Part IV).

643 778 — The king's mother does not hold any special office.— The chief does not keep any portion of his deceased predecessor excepting the nails and hair used for the mhamba (See page 386 and part VI.)

538 (1) The following interesting couplet in two sentences aptly describes the thief:
Shishlangwa rendjeletane? — The crown on the hut nicely rounded?
Mangutlo a paha ritibe... — The hawk burns his claws...
The thief is like a crown on the top of a hut. He is a lazy person, he attitudinises and will not work. Evil will befall him, as with a hawk who tries to snatch the meat that is roasting and burns his claws!

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

APPENDIX VI (See p. 265)

The story of Paulus K., illustrating the matlulana superstition and the Thonga horror of polyandry.

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One of my pupils, who was already a married man of, perhaps, thirty-two years of age, once came to me, very much distressed, to confess a fault which seemed to weigh very heavy on his conscience. On a day of feasting he had drunk too freely and had commited adultery with the wife of his elder brother Guga. He fought with himself for years, not daring to avow an action which seemed to him not merely ordinary adultery but an incestuous act. He finally wrote to his brother: "Though I know that we shall not be able to love each other any more as before, though it pains me so much to separate from you, I will confess! Please forgive me, as I intended to commit suicide on account of my fault!"

The special gravity of the fault consisted in two circumstances: 1) She was his brother's wife and he was now unable to visit his brother when ill, to take part in his burial, or to maintain friendly relations with him. 2) Guga was his elder brother. This made the case still worse.

The letter of Paulus to his fellow evangelists is touching: "I have no right to stay in your assembly, because I have been overcome by the Enemy and committed adultery with my elder brother's wife. I have been long prevented (from confessing) by the Enemy's power. Now I have wept before Jesus that He may help me to pierce the abscess... Satan came and said to me: 'Will you not be ashamed to confess such a thing before men?' I nearly retreated. But at sunrise I made haste to write to you, and now I feel peace and joy. It seems to me that I am going to receive the Spirit of God."

APPENDIX VII (See p. 279)

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The story of Spoon Libombo, showing that, when the lobolo has not been paid or has been returned, the children belong to the mother's and not to the father's family.

Spoon was the son of Shibaninge, a woman of the Libombo family, and of Khobete of the Mazwaya family, who had lobola Shibaninge.

224 826 water, and Natives point to them saying: "The mapseko!" *Pseko* is the name given to old pots employed in connection with the cooking operations (to cook, ku pseka); they are turned upside down in the fire-place and the pots containing the food are placed on top of them. The backs of the hippopotami are like these inverted old black pots and that is why these animals are called after them. It would be dangerous to call them by their own name; they might become angry if they knew that they had been noticed...

224 789 I owe to Mboza a graphic description of the rules of hippopotamus hunting. There are a few villages, near the Nkomati or other rivers, whose inhabitants are regular hippopotamus hunters, and possess the special science, or art, called *butimba*; the hunters themselves are called *batimba*. This science is hereditary: it is taught by the father to his sons. These men possess a peculiar drug, the *mbangulwa*; when the hunter is inoculated with this, he acquires a special power over the hippopotami: should he wound one of them, the beast will not be able to go very far, and it will be possible to follow it and quickly find it. But this inoculation makes the man very dangerous to his fellows: should he beat any one, that person will be at once seized by a disease which will prevent his passing water or stools.

224 835 This is the manner in which these batimba hunt: During the day, the hunter fishes, watching the movements of the hippopotami all the time. When he sees that the propitious moment has come and is ready to undertake hunting operations lasting a month, he first calls his own daughter to his hut and has sexual relations with her. This incestuous act, which is strongly taboo in ordinary life, has made him into a "murderer": he has killed something at home; he has acquired the courage necessary for doing great deeds on the river! Henceforth he will have no sexual relations with his wives during the whole campaign.

224 [789] Before starting he calls his principal wife, the one to whose care the butimba magic drug is committed, and both expose their bodies to the smoke of a medicinal pill. On the same night,